M 614 [186] /18/ The 'L aiśér and El mûleljan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El meŋgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutok (1)

M [192]

1. 'N dalata, gluttons, en gutok, the mouth; by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Eŋg-adji-nagúl-alai (2),

M [192]

2. = the house of the hard teeth; nagúl = hard, el alai, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eŋg adji el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El meŋgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M [173] [184]

M 613 The El bedęs and El goré are not infrequently designated as El aisegela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os segél. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 [613] [754] The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the Eñ gidoñ, because both the family of the chief (ol oiboni) and that of the sorcerer (el goiatek) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ol oiboni does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly; the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Asá also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

M [829]

D [791]

/51 cont./

845 wife of her husband; often, however, she also nurses both herself.
[301] Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie shells hung around their necks, an expression of paternal pride, so that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to
[203] a pair of twins. To be sure, the Masai living in a circle of two to three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are immediately informed of every bit of news through the constant intercourse between the individual kraals. "Every Masai coming from farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father overwhelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished
[843] because it is assumed that she practiced sexual intercourse in far advanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. But then an
• [784] unnatural birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or
847 neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man. There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among them.

844 During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have streamed together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in order to bring her milk or also flour. First of all the other wives of
[626] her husband hasten there, as well as the women of her kin, her lineage or tribe. Good /52/ breeding demands it of them and they comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank 'Ng ai for the successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal. The next day a second ox is slaughtered, at the consumption of which
000 any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the El kiborõn every newborn

/71 cont./

IX.

000 Age classes. -- The annual courses of an age class. -- Age-class association. -- Organization of the circumcised. -- Choice of speaker and of the ol aunoni; their activity. -- Festivities at the formation of an age-class association. -- Significance of the age classes. -- Division of an age class. -- Names of age classes.

561 All the boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years belong to an age class (ol boror). Within them the boys form, since they are circumcised at yearly or somewhat longer intervals, annual courses by way of divisions.

The first annual course of an age class is the el jangen obir; they are followed by the el baringo-duallan; the youngest annual course of the ones circumcised during the circumcision years is the el gerimbot. They are followed by a fourth one, the el oirogua. These are circumcised only after /72/ the circumcision years have officially ended by the celebration of the en gebata festival ordered by the ol oiboni. Anyone who wishes to be circumcised after this festival may not take part in celebrating the above-mentioned festival, otherwise his circumcision is not permitted.

Every two age classes together form an association (ol adji) in which the older is designated as the right circumcision (emorat' ertatenne), the younger one as the left circumcision (emorat' ekedinje). Each of them has definite rules forbidding for them the uttering of certain words or the enjoyment of certain foods. The emorat' ertatenne may eat neither head nor tail pieces of slaughtered livestock and do not say eng an en dare for goat-kraal, /Ill. 25 appears here/ but rather e merata en dare; moreover, they say ol ogunja for head, and not ol ukungu, and for tail piece, not ol gorom, but rather en aisuba. The others may eat neither gourd nor cucumber, and for arrow poison they say en duerai, instead of e sajet. It is an insult, which often leads to immediate violence, if the one does or says the things forbidden to the other, which are called en dorotj, in the latter's presence.

561 262 784

/98 cont./

727 it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutilated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as ebor além. But even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that [784] God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few [583] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child [599] exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home kraal; in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the ol aunoni is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called, for example, kirima, because men fell on both sides. Other names are: [411] [701] [291] [516] bŏgŏrĕt if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruit; ŋgŏrĕ if the El móran suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; ŋgnírĭa, formed from the call matiŋgiria ápo, that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying [703] if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Merker phot.

Ill. 40. On picket duty.

564 /111 cont./
326 luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man
[777] and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality
[574] of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges.
[701] The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol manjata l el moran l el konono) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An-
[582] other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who
[837] does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised
[784] the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare
[192] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

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326
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784
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1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them [563] who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

/158 cont./

805 /footnote 3 continued/ 'ré en aimen, etc.,
the 30th eschomó tomon-oimiêt en aimen.

17th day: (ol aba) tomon-obischana or ol onjúgi = the red one.
18th day: (ol aba) tomon-oissiêt or es sobia naiturúgu.
19th day: (ol aba) tomon-endorot or es sobia em bolós.
20th day: (ol aba) digitam negera or es sobia nabaye or also en ekiborõn.
21st day: (ol aba) digitam-obo or e' mge naiturugu.
22nd day: (ol aba) digitam-aré or e' mge em bolos.
/159/ 23rd day: (ol aba) digitam-oguni or e' mge nabaye.
24th day: (ol aba) digitam ungwan or en aimen narok = the black darkness.
25th day: (ol aba) digitam-oimiêt or en aimen narok.
26th day: (ol aba) digitam-oile or en aimen narok.
27th day: (ol aba) digitam-obischana or en aimen narok.
Moreover, in a 29-day month, the:
28th day: (ol aba) digitam-oissiêt or eñ gartake ol aba or en aimen narok.
29th day: (ol aba) digitam- endorot or ewake ol aba or endebe en aimen.
In a 30-day month, the:
28th day: (ol aba) digitam oissiêt or en aimen narok.
29th day: (ol aba) digitam-endorot or eñ gartake ol aba or en aimen narok.
30th day: (ol aba) ossom negera or ewake ol aba or endebe en aimen.

The day designation, however, is now by no means so common that every Masai would be able to determine it precisely on every day. Actually only the following days or groups of days are in more constant daily use:

• [184] The 1st day, as ebor ol aba nabo, as the beginning of the counting and initial day of the eñg ebor ol aba, the light of the moon; on this day no circumcision is undertaken.

The 4th day, as ertaduage duo ol aba, as new moon.

/159 cont./

805 The 10th day, as tomon negera, as the final day of the first decade.

The 15th day, as ol gadet and final day of the eńg ebor ol aba.

[777] The 16th day, as ol onjori; it is the unlucky day for war and the initial day of en aimen (= the darkness).

[777] The 17th day, as ol onjugi; it is the most important unlucky day in daily life, but on the other hand, is regarded as a lucky day in [784] war; on the ol onjugi people do not change dwellings, do not shave their heads, and do not undertake any circumcision.

The 18th day to 20th day, as es sobiaĭn.

The 20th day, as en ekiborōn, on which the boys belonging to the El kiborōn lineage are circumcised, and as the final day of the second decade.

The 21st day to 23rd day, as mgeĭn.

[784] The 24th day, as initial day of the en aimen narok; on it no sacrifices may be offered, and frequently too, just as on the subsequent en aimen narok days, no circumcision is to take place.

The following days up to the end of the month, as en aimen narok.

Within these days, the 4th, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 1st are again especially familiar.

805 Three months form a season; four seasons, the year (ol arĭ). The
821 names of the seasons are:
132 Ol dumeril, that is, the time of little rainfall, which precedes the great rainy season. This falls in the eń gokwa, named after the Pleiades, which then rise low on the western horizon.

/160/ Then follows the ol airodjerod, the season of the lighter after-rains, and then the ol ameĭi, the period of hunger, of drought.

The months of ol dumeril are: 1. ol gissan, in which the goats and sheep bring forth young; 2. ol adallo, that is, the heat of the sun; 3. ol golua.

The months of en gokwa are: 1. le erat, formed from er rata= green valley. The rain, which has fallen meagerly up to now, has been sufficient to cover with fresh green the valleys and deeper lying places in the otherwise still yellow, dry steppe. 2. os somisso, the dark, gloomy one. The sky is cloudy, it rains a great deal, the days are gloomy and dark. 3. ol ńerńerua, formed from nerneri = fat; the cattle soon become fat because of the young, fresh grass.

/163 cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the smashing of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (a-idôn). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /164/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unnatural sexual instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in the form of an epidemic.

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and steadfast. With nicely arched cruppers, a rounded neck, firm and fleshy shanks, they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders. They serve only to carry burdens, whereas oxen are only rarely used.

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 54. Masai goats and sheep.

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasala, 'j' oschiage somon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ goiobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always: I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaña days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, oi dogóm, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a [272] [237] buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold [415] extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a [824] white powder obtained from the oi oiboni, while they say the /210/ [539] prayer 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ giachon, jo ijok á giachu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

/211 cont./

789 amatory adventures. The powder also serves as love magic, in that
[832] the woman sprinkles herself and the man with it, through which his love for her is heightened. If a woman loses her first child soon after birth, she hangs in the doorway of her hut during her next pregnancy an amulet that consists of a few cowrie shells sewed on a small piece of leather and a little bag, made by the oi goiatiki, containing
[824] sawdust to protect the expected child from sickness and death. The plants preferred by the oi goiatiki for the manufacture of his magic medicines are: en galletojai (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), oi kioge (Courbonia virgata), en gujene (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg), oi amamlai (Oxyris tenuifolia), en segi (Cordia quarensis), oi debbe (Acacia Merkeri Harms), en gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg).

754 The belief in the evil eye, which makes human beings and livestock sick, is also generally widespread. One afflicted with the evil eye (arta gonjok) may not let himself be seen in the vicinity of the kraals. He is anxiously avoided by all people and therefore builds a kraal of his own, in which he lives alone with his family. If he ventures to enter a strange kraal, he must be prepared to be killed. If a human being or a head of livestock suddenly falls sick or dies without one's being able to explain this by natural causes, it is often believed that the reason for it must be sought in the doings
[784] of an evil sorcerer (oi oenkumoni). Only if such a one has not been in the vicinity for a long time is the misfortune traced back to a punishment from God.

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426 686 [672] the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property. If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries. [684] The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished by Ng ai through death or illness. [788] A person who did not grant the request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 422 764 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

628 682 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. [673] [672] Any brother of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/337 cont./

*539 *773 *171 *121 Biblical author merely inserted into the traditional framework of the primeval-age lawgiving the laws that were modified or had become necessary as a consequence of the sedentation, the changes way of life and outlook, with at the same time omission of the commandments that were lost for the same reason or pushed out of the favored position as a consequence of their reduced significance.

Some Further Points of Contact

In a mythical account the Masai show why dogs are regarded as unclean and live only on disgusting food; God himself condemned them to this.

*539 *773 *171 *121 231 In view of this, it seems noteworthy that the authors of the Jahve /Yahweh/ and Elohim doucments, that is, precisely probably the oldest sources of the Pentateuch, put into the mouth of God utterances through which dogs are represented as disgusting animals. Thus, the Jahvist /Yahwist/ reports in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 11, 7: And Jahve said to Moses: "But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog point his tongue, from man to livestock, that ye may know that Jahve makes a distinction between Egypt and Israel." And the Elohim Document states, 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 22, 30 /sic; see 22, 31/: "And ye shall be holy men unto me, and ye shall not eat flesh torn off in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs (1)."

1. Cf. also 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 23, 59 /sic; see 23, 18/ male whores = dogs. F. Hommel.

*539 *773 *171 *121 • [184] Just as 'Ng ai punishes the Masai who transgress his commands by epidemics, so it is also Jahve's /Yahweh's/ nature to send plagues if the human beings otherwise do not want to submit to his will and complain about him. From the time before the lawgiving we know of the ten plagues by which Jahve forces the Egyptians to let the Israelites depart. Then later the wrath of God is turned against Israel. 4th Moses /Numbers/ 11 tells of a great fire in the camp at the place Tabera /Taberah/, as well as a great disaster among the people in Kibroth Hatthaawa /Kibroth-hattaavah/, the place of the graves of